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BOOK DEPARTMENT.

REVIEWS.

The Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England. By CHARLES BORGEAUD. Translated by Mrs. BIRKBECK HILL, with a preface by C. H. FIRTH, M. A. Pp. 168. Price, \$1.00. New York : imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894.

Dr. Borgeaud's name and work has been recently called to the attention of the readers of the ANNALS by reference to his latest book "*L'Établissement et revision des constitutions en Amérique et en Europe*," published in 1893 and translated into English in 1895. For the writing of this work he had already been prepared by his "*Histoire du Plébiscite*," published in 1887, and by the two essays upon democracy which appeared in the "*Annales de l'école libre des sciences politiques*," in April, 1890, and January, 1891. These essays were translated in 1894 and form the little work of one hundred and sixty-eight pages before us.

Inasmuch as the ideas contained in this book have been known to scholars for four years, it will not be necessary to restate them or to review the contents of the book in their entirety. The main theses are, however, worthy of reiteration because they differ in many respects from views already presented and still widely held. First, Dr. Borgeaud maintains, although he nowhere expressly enters into the argument, that modern democracy is not the survival of primitive German or Anglo-Saxon freedom ; that it does not owe its development to any special love of liberty or to any spirit of individuality inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race ; that the only influence of " antiquity " is the influence of the ancient democracy of Greece and Rome, which never entirely disappeared during the middle ages. Secondly, Dr. Borgeaud maintains that modern democracy is the outgrowth of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century ; that it owes its development to the Calvinistic idea of self-government in church matters, transferred to England and applied to the domain of politics by Robert Browne ; that the principle of the sovereignty of the people, imprescriptible and inalienable, belongs peculiarly to the Reformation.

Briefly stated these ideas work out somewhat as follows : In England at the opening of the seventeenth century two marked and

divergent tendencies can be noticed, the first was in the direction of monarchical prerogative, aristocratic government and centralization on the political side and of ecclesiastical authority, ceremonial and conformity on the religious side, the second was a leveling tendency in the direction of equality among men, popular control of magistracies and representative government. These two tendencies naturally came into conflict and in the political revolution that followed a selected part of the more radical element left England and came to America. Now the political doctrines of these people can be clearly followed in their own writings. There was nothing especially original about these ideas, they had been held before this time. But no one had expressed them and acted on them at the same time. The source of these ideas was primarily the Bible, secondarily the Institutes of Calvin. In these Institutes is the initial expression of these ideas, whatever transformation they may have undergone afterward, or however much we may charge Calvin with aristocratic leanings. Calvin paved the way for democracy when he taught the severance of Church and State, the equality of all men before God and the right of congregations to appoint their ministers as over against the rights of sovereigns and superiors. The doctrine had in England a more radical interpretation and a more practical application than upon the continent except among the Anabaptists. Cartwright, following Calvin's teaching, strongly opposed the parish government of England as well as the Anglican establishment and advocated principles of local church management that were essentially Calvinistic in character. From the teaching of Cartwright and his followers there arose that body of Presbyterian Puritans who represented in England and America the more conservative wing of the radical party, a group of men, who recognized a national church and a consolidated organization. Over against this body stood the extreme radicals, the followers of Robert Browne who gave these doctrines a democratic expansion. First, Browne advocated the application of the principles of church government to civil life; secondly, that civil magistrates should be chosen with the consent of the people; thirdly, that true Christians were united into a company (a term applied to the craft-gilds), the members of which, by willing covenant made with their God, placed themselves under the covenant of God. This last statement was radical because it opposed both the Anglican and the Presbyterian idea. Browne's Puritan followers went a step farther when they said that the law for their religious governance should not be taken from the English statute book but from the Word of God.

In the later history of England these two phases of democracy were represented in the Presbyterian and Independent movements in the

Long Parliament, the outcome of which was the victory of the more radical party, whose principles were expressed in the famous documents of democracy, the "Instrument of Government," and the "Agreement of the People."

But the English phase of the movement was only partially successful, the influence of conservatism and tradition was too great. America was a free field untouched by tradition. The doctrine of the settlers of Massachusetts and Connecticut were the same as those of the Long Parliament. Each of the New England colonies, save Plymouth, was settled by representatives of one or other of these two parties, and the doctrines of the separatists were in close accord with those of the more radical Puritan wing. Therefore it is wholly to be expected that before the "Agreement of the People" had been drawn up there should have been an expression of these doctrines in written form in the "Mayflower Compact" and in the "Fundamental Articles of Connecticut." The "Agreement of the People" and the "Fundamental Articles of Connecticut" contain the principles of popular sovereignty, of supreme power vested in a single assembly proportioned according to the number of inhabitants, and of equality before the law.

All this is true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Dr. Borgeaud does not explain why the English nature responded so quickly to the democratic ideas above noted, or why the English Puritan was more radical than the French Huguenot. Nor does he explain why these doctrines became the accepted doctrines of a great republic. Modern democracy has its root quite as much in the municipal struggle in England itself as in the religious struggle on the Continent, and we shall still have to reckon with racial characteristics before we can feel satisfied that we have found the conditions which have made modern democracy possible.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

George William Curtis. By EDWARD CARY. Pp. 343. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894. [American Men of Letters.]

The editor of this series, had he enforced a strict classification, would have assigned two-thirds of this volume to the well-known "American Statesmen" series. Over two hundred pages are given up to Mr. Curtis' career as a political editor, politician, anti-slavery agitator and reformer. Indeed it seems to us that it was in these great rôles that Mr. Curtis rendered his most important services to the people of this country, and for this reason belongs rather to our